

Valley Forge and the Pennsylvania-Germans

BY

H. M. M. RICHARDS, Litt.D.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT VALLEY FORGE AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,
NOVEMBER 2, 1916.



LANCASTER, PA.
1917



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The
Pennsylvania-German Society



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Conferment of
H. M. M. Richards

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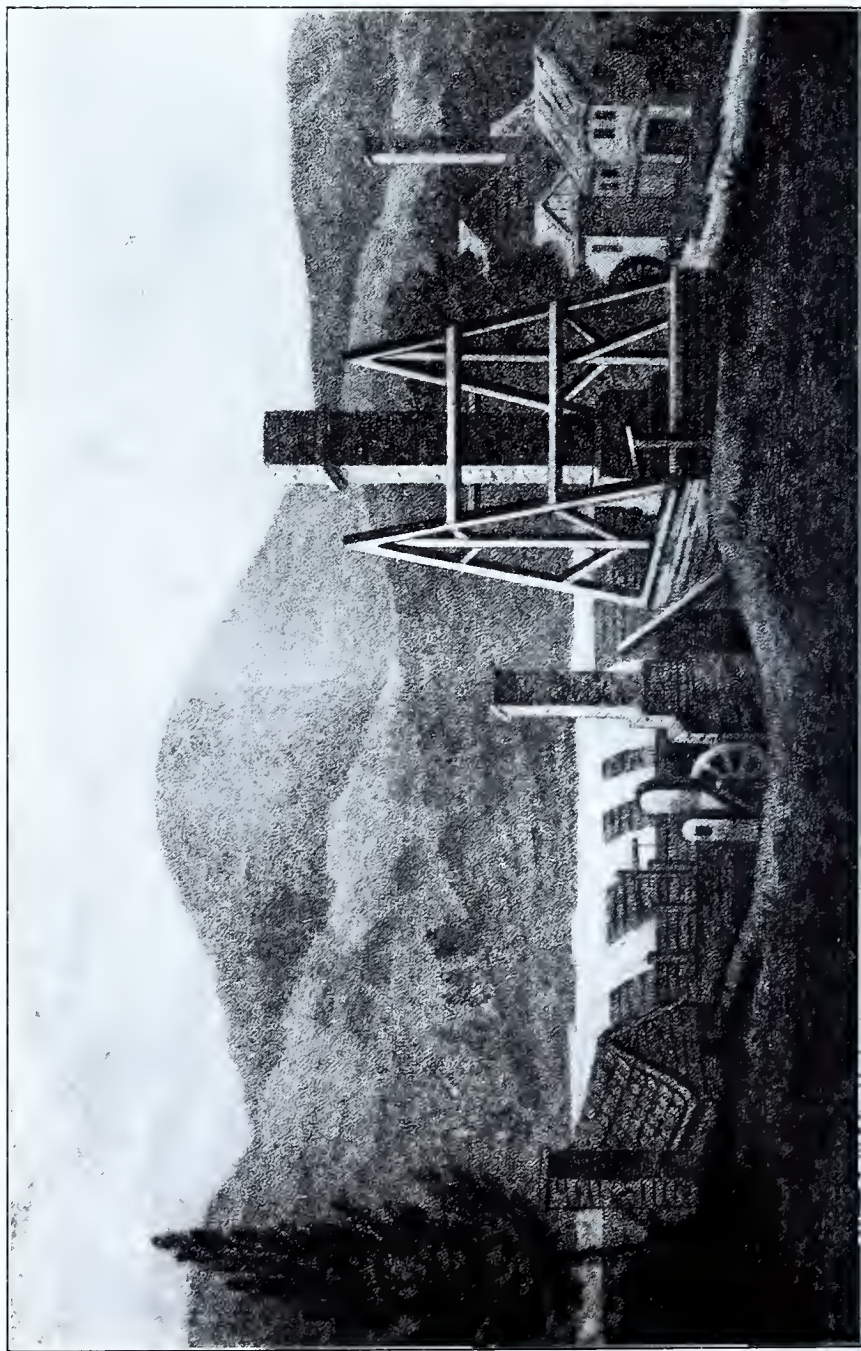
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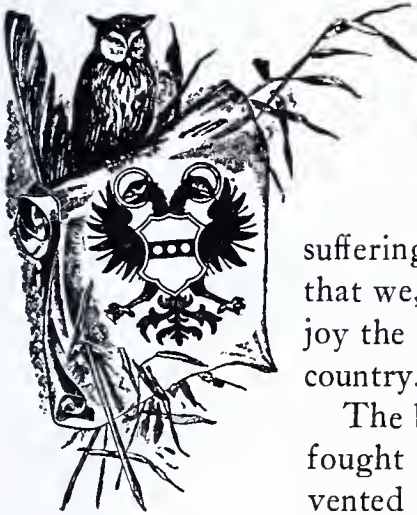


VALLEY FORGE (CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA).

DISTANT VIEW OF THE HILLS UPON WHICH THE CONTINENTAL ARMY WERE ENCAMPTED DURING THE
MEMORABLE WINTER OF 1777-1778.



VALLEY FORGE AND THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS.



TO-DAY our feet
rest on ground
which has been
made holy
through the

suffering of men who endured much so
that we, coming after them, might en-
joy the blessings of freedom in a free
country.

The battle of Brandywine had been
fought and lost; a deluge of rain pre-
vented a succeeding engagement at
the Warren Tavern, and an unforeseen fog robbed the
American Army of a hoped-for victory at Germantown.
Flushed with success, and in all their showy panoply of war,
the British and Hessian troops had marched into Phila-
of a hoped-for victory at Germantown. Flushed with
success, and in all their showy panoply of war, the
British and Hessian troops had marched into Phila-

delphia, the capital city of the nation, behind their exulting music, to find for themselves luxurious quarters, with abundance of supplies, for the coming winter. Even God, himself, whose very plans were being carried out by those who had been defeated, seemed to have turned His face away from them.

On June 19, 1878, a little more than thirty-eight years ago, was here celebrated the centennial of the evacuation of the Valley Forge encampment by the Continental Army. A grand oration was delivered by Henry Armitt Brown. After portraying the glittering and triumphant entry of the enemy into Philadelphia, in eloquent words he drew another picture. Let us try to imagine what he saw before him, as a vision, when he said:

The wind is cold and piercing on the old Gulf road, and the snow flakes have begun to fall. Who is this that toils up yonder hill, his footsteps stained with blood? "His bare feet peep through his worn-out shoes, his legs nearly naked from the tattered remains of an only pair of stockings, his breeches not enough to cover his nakedness, his shirt hanging in strings, his hair dishevelled, his face wan and thin, his look hungry, his whole appearance that of a man forsaken and neglected." On his shoulder he carries a rusty gun, and the hand that grasps the stock is blue with cold. His comrade is no better off, nor he who follows, for both are barefoot, and the ruts of the rough country road are deep and frozen hard. A fourth comes into view, and still another. A dozen are in sight. Twenty have reached the ridge and there are more to come. See them as they mount the hill that slopes eastward into the great valley. A thousand are in sight, but they are but the vanguard of the motley company that winds down the road until it is lost in the cloud of snow flakes that have hidden the Gulf hills. Yonder are horsemen in tattered uniforms, and behind them cannon lumbering slowly over the frozen road, half dragged, half pushed by men. They who appear to be in authority have coats of every make and

color. Here is one in a faded blue, faced with buckskin that has once been buff; there is another on a tall, gaunt horse, wrapped in a sort of dressing-gown made of an old blanket or woollen bed-cover. A few of the men wear long linen hunting-shirts reaching to the knee, but of the rest no two are dressed alike—not half have shirts, a third are barefoot, many are in rags. Nor are their arms the same. Cow-horns and tin boxes they carry for want of pouches. A few have swords, fewer still bayonets. Muskets, carbines, fowling-pieces and rifles are to be seen together side by side.

Are these soldiers that huddle together and bow their heads as they face the biting wind? Is this an army that comes straggling through the valley in the blinding snow? No martial music leads them in triumph into a captured capital; no city full of good cheer and warm and comfortable homes awaits their coming; no sound keeps time to their weary steps save the icy wind rattling the leafless branches and the dull tread of their weary feet on the frozen ground. In yonder forest must they find their shelter, and on the northern slope of these inhospitable hills their place of refuge. Perils shall soon assault them more threatening than any they encountered under the windows of Chew's house or by the banks of Brandywine. Trials that rarely have failed to break the fortitude of men await them here. False friends shall endeavor to undermine their virtue and secret enemies to shake their faith; the Congress whom they serve shall prove helpless to protect them, and their country herself seem unmindful of their sufferings; cold shall share their habitations and hunger enter in and be their constant guest; disease shall infest their huts by day and famine stand guard with them through the night; frost shall lock their camp with icy fetters and the snow cover it as with a garment; the storms of winter shall be pitiless,—but all in vain. Danger shall not frighten nor temptation have power to seduce them. Doubt shall not shake their love of country nor suffering overcome their fortitude. The powers of evil shall not prevail against them, for they are the Continental Army, and these are the hills of Valley Forge.

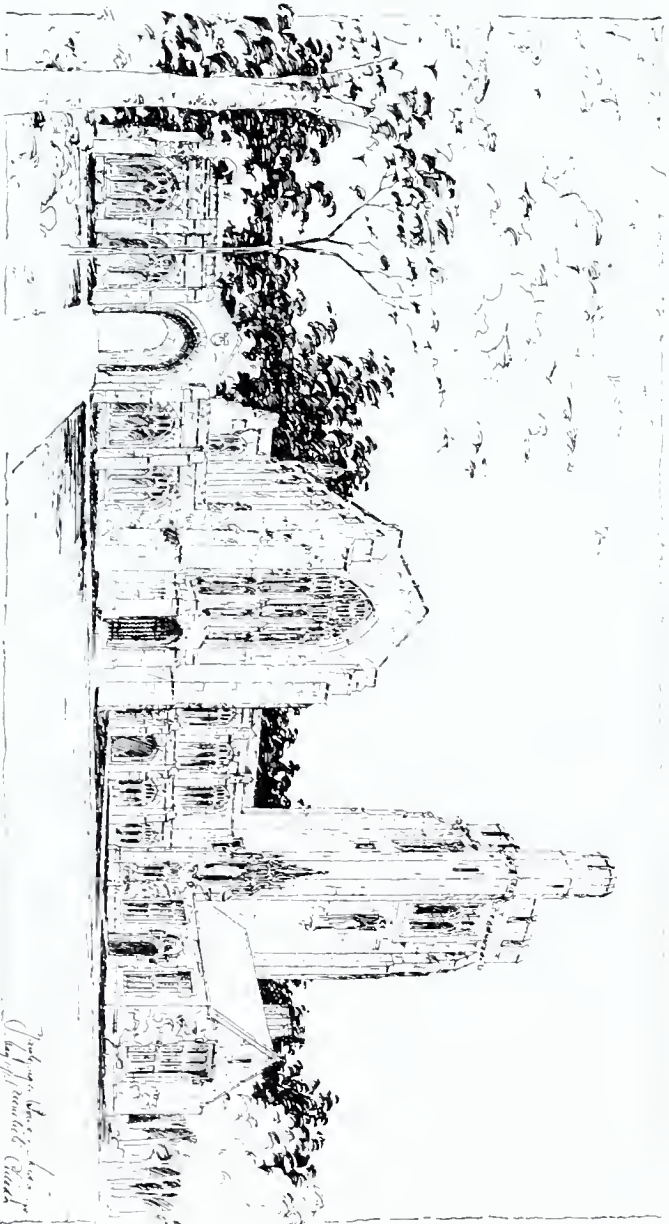
Could the mind of man conceive a darker picture, one filled with more trials, miseries and wretchedness, and yet, withal, one more true? They were, indeed, the gloomy days of our struggle for freedom, but, because our fathers never faltered in their duty, we are here, to-day, rejoicing in the happiness which their sufferings have brought us.

We are here, however, but as an integral part of the descendants of those who were identified with the events which have just been recorded. Did our Pennsylvania-German ancestors have any share in them, and to what extent? Were they, perchance, to any considerable degree, instrumental in averting the disaster which then threatened our country? Did they, in short, do their full duty in and for the motley remnants of the patriotic army encamped amidst the snow of bleak Valley Forge during the terrible winter of 1777-78?

The sufferings at Valley Forge, because of its exposed position, were unavoidable, and the position was likewise unavoidable, as it was absolutely necessary that the enemy should be confined to their winter quarters in Philadelphia and prevented from ravaging the rich farming districts in the interior. Here in the cities of Reading, Lancaster, and elsewhere, Washington had collected such stores as he could. Were he to withdraw his troops from the vicinity of Philadelphia this material would become exposed to capture. Worse than that, the fertile country from whence these supplies were derived would have been lost to him, and with this loss would have followed, in due time, the failure of his efforts to hold together the army and to prevent the enemy from then and there accomplishing his desired purpose of bringing the war to a speedy and successful end.

Gentlemen of the Pennsylvania-German Society, the

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WASHINGTON MEMORIAL CHAPEL AT VALLEY FORGE.

men who owned these farms, and who lived in these towns, were our ancestors, and, like ourselves, not only Pennsylvania Germans but patriots as well. If the Continental Army at Valley Forge had been obliged to depend upon Congress alone, for its care and sustenance, its soldiers would have been either dead or dispersed long before the cruel winter was over and the warm days of spring had caused its snow to disappear. Under Providence, however, it fell to the lot of the Pennsylvania German to take up the work where Congress had so woefully failed, to care for the army in its day of greatest need, and thus, even though indirectly, to save the country and the cause of freedom then hanging in the balance.

Committees were appointed which were on continual duty during the entire encampment. Day after day, and week after week, they went almost literally from door to door throughout the counties in which our fathers lived, accompanied by wagons into which the donations were loaded and, as filled, forwarded to the army. Greatly impoverished as he had already become because of visits and encampments of troops during the manœuvring just subsequent to the battle of Brandywine, yet the Pennsylvania-German farmer still willingly gave of the products of his ground, while the Pennsylvania-German matron sacrificed the fruits of her labor at the loom, in the form of blankets and clothing, and the Pennsylvania-German theosophic community at Ephrata supplied the paper for cartridges when the unbound leaves of their great work, the "Martyr Book," were seized for that purpose. The flour for the troops came from Pennsylvania-German mills, while the cannon, with their cannon-balls, were largely the product of Pennsylvania-German foundries and furnaces. They supplied quantities of powder, flints, shoes and car-

tridge-boxes. Merely to carry the articles which were furnished necessitated the employment of many hundreds of wagons, with their horses and accompanying drivers. Are we not justified in believing and stating that it was because of the patriotic sacrifices made by the Pennsylvania Germans that the continued encampment at Valley Forge became a possibility.

More than that, we claim that, were it not for the Pennsylvania Germans there could have been no encampment at Valley Forge.

Why was the battle of Brandywine fought? Because the country demanded it, as an unreasoning public, in all future wars, have demanded advance movements at most inopportune times. The people were tired of a Fabian policy. Even John Adams wrote, on August 29, complaining that other commanders had been able to strike aggressive blows, and wondering why Washington did not act. He ended up by saying: "I am weary, I own, with so much insipidity. I am sick of Fabian systems in all quarters. The officers drink 'A long and moderate war'; my toast is 'A short and violent war.'" In the face of such sentiments, and with the capital of the nation threatened, the battle of Brandywine became a political necessity.

Even then, Washington would probably have hesitated to meet the enemy at that time, with the troops at his command, had it not been for the reinforcements of Pennsylvania militia which were hurried to his assistance in response to his urgent call for the same. It is well to remember that a large proportion of these emergency troops came from our Pennsylvania-German counties.

Had there been no Brandywine there would have been no Valley Forge.

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GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

BORN FEBRUARY 22, 1732.

DIED DECEMBER 14, 1799.

FROM PAINTING BY CHARLES WILLSON PEALE, 1785.

And, as a corollary to this statement we assert that had the battle of Brandywine become the utter rout which the surprise flank attack of the British came near making it, the Continental Army would have been too demoralized to have dared to face the enemy within striking distance at Valley Forge, but would have been forced to retire into the interior to recuperate. The effect of such action upon the struggle for independence is too evident to need any argument.

We may well take pride in the blood which flows through our veins when we recall that it was the Pennsylvania German who was largely instrumental in preventing this misfortune.

In the early part of the eighteenth century the German settlers, along what was then the inhabited frontier of Pennsylvania, began to push forward into Virginia where they made their homes at the foot of the Blue Ridge and in the fertile Shenandoah Valley.

I need not tell you the familiar story of Peter Muhlenberg, the eldest son of the Patriarch, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who became the pastor, at Woodstock, of a portion of these settlers, and who, when the time to serve his country had arrived, threw aside his clerical gown for the uniform of a soldier. His then regiment, the 8th Virginia, was composed entirely of Pennsylvania Germans, and called "The German Regiment." Many others of the same race were found in other Virginia regiments.

When Cornwallis suddenly appeared upon the right flank of the Americans Sullivan's division was rushed forward to meet him. In it were the "German Regiment" of Pennsylvania, all Pennsylvania Germans, the 13th Pennsylvania, composed of the remnants of those brave troops, Atlee's Musketry Battalion and Miles' Rifle Regi-

ment, of whom some thirty per cent. were Pennsylvania Germans; and Conway's brigade, also largely of the same blood. Their desperate resistance gave a brief time of needed preparation to Washington, but when they had been dispersed, when Lafayette had been wounded, and when, forced back by greatly superior numbers, the retreat of the Continentals was rapidly becoming a demoralized rout, then Greene, with the brigades of Virginians under Muhlenberg and Weedon, gallantly threw himself into the breach, and by the noble sacrifice of these Pennsylvania Germans, with their other comrades, the day was saved.

Even though the Virginians did save the right flank, had the enemy succeeded in piercing Washington's center at Chad's Ford the catastrophe might have been as bad.

This ford was held by Wayne's Pennsylvanians, who were outnumbered three or four to one by the British. The division of Gen. Wayne consisted of the 1st, 2d, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th and 11th Pennsylvania Line regiments, all of which contained quite a percentage of Pennsylvania-Germans, the 1st and 10th regiments to a large extent. It was the splendid First regiment, made up from the re-enlistment of Col. Thompson's gallant "First Defenders," the Pennsylvania-German Battalion of Riflemen, which covered the retreat of the artillery at Brandywine under a terrible fire, and saved these necessary guns to the army.

Besides all that has been said heretofore, the encampment, for the winter, of the Continental Army, at Valley Forge, would never have taken place save for the patriotism of the Pennsylvania Germans. Washington would not have dared, with a strong and disciplined enemy at his front, to risk having a secret foe in his rear. Because he knew that there were no tories amongst the Pennsyl-

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PENNSYLVANIA COLUMNS.

MARKING EXTREME LEFT, WAYNE'S DIVISION, PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

vania Germans, and that they, of all the peoples in America, though frequently ridiculed and maligned, were unswervingly loyal to the cause of independence, he did not hesitate to face his foe, at close quarters, along the outer limit of their habitation.

With the British pressing up the Schuylkill Valley, apparently for the purpose of getting possession of his stores of munitions at Reading, Washington was forced to move after them, when Sir William Howe, by a sudden feint, got between the Americans and Philadelphia, the city they were trying to protect. Its capture promptly followed. But weeks, and even months, of manœuvring took place during these operations, and, in nearly all this time, the encampments of the American Army were made on Pennsylvania-German soil. When the troops disappeared from one camp to occupy another with them went everything which represented months of weary toil on the part of the Pennsylvania-German owners, whether crops already harvested, or those still in the field; whether grain and vegetables for food, hay for forage, or straw for bedding. And this was not because soldiers, in all wars, are accustomed to prey upon the property of others, but because the soldiers of the Revolution were hungry men and the horses of the Revolution were hungry animals, without even, at times, the necessities of life.

The plague of locusts was but a trifle to the visitation of the American Army. The former left something, but the latter nothing, and it was no small sacrifice which the Pennsylvania Germans made when they thus sustained the soldiers of Washington's army during the summer and fall of 1777, and, later, kept them alive at Valley Forge.

It is well that the people of this country should especially keep bright in memory the awful scenes of that ter-

rible encampment, but it is equally well, at times, that they should look beyond and consider the loyalty of those who not only made the encampment at this spot possible, but also shed upon it the few bright gleams of light which prevent it from being utter darkness.

After what has been written does any one still question the patriotism of the Pennsylvania Germans in connection with Valley Forge?

What then shall be the verdict as regards good, honest Christopher Ludwig, the Baker-General of the army, then already nearly sixty years of age, who had not been content only to risk his life, while a volunteer in 1776, by going into the Hessian camp and inducing many of these mercenaries to desert, but he must needs see that bread of proper weight and good quality be furnished those who were fighting for their country, the value of which action we of to-day can hardly appreciate?

What are we to say with regard to Dr. Bodo Otto, whose remains rest in the graveyard of old Trinity Church at Reading, and who, with his two sons, faithfully labored in charge of the camp hospital at Valley Forge?

Think of the aged Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, whose home was but a few miles distant, whose eldest son was one of Washington's generals, at whose board sat more than one of our highest officers, who had been obliged to flee for his life from Philadelphia because of his patriotism, and whose loyalty and knowledge made his sought-for advice invaluable.

How little is ever said of that staunch and noble Pennsylvania German, Michael Hillegas, the first treasurer of the United States, and of the many sacrifices made by him, as such, both in time and money, during this darkest period in the history of his country.

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REV. HENRY M. MUHLENBERG.

B. SEPT. 6, 1711.

D. OCT. 7, 1787.

TRAPPE, MONTGOMERY CO., PENNA.

It was Daniel Hunter, of Berks County, then paymaster of the Pennsylvania militia, who devoted his time to procure blankets for the freezing Continentals.

Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg, another son of the patriarch, and who, like his father, was obliged to flee to the Trappe for safety, and whose father-in-law, Frederick Schaefer, had all his property wantonly destroyed by the British upon their occupation of Philadelphia, because of the outspoken loyalty of both, also was of material aid to the cause in many ways.

Family tradition has it that the great-great-grandfather of the writer of this paper, Benedict Garber, living close to the encampment, himself a soldier at a later period, furnished many supplies without remuneration, and that his wife, Dorothea, carried messages for Washington secreted in bags of flour. I believe this to have been but one of the many unrecorded instances of loyalty at this period amongst the people of our blood.

One instance of patriotic service rendered during the Valley Forge encampment, with which the Pennsylvania Germans had to do, and which pertained to the notorious Conway Cabal, is but little known and has been told only too sparingly, especially in view of its interesting character.

Amidst the gloom of Brandywine and Germantown, and the capture of Philadelphia, the country was electrified, on October 17, by the news of Burgoyne's surrender. Here, at last, was a ray of light penetrating the darkness, and with it a glittering star rose above the horizon which temporarily blinded all to the truth, and caused those who were discontented to rally around Gates with the view of having him supersede Washington. It mattered not that Washington was then at the front straining every nerve to save his country, and, by his absence from York, unable to

defend himself; it mattered not that he had just given an additional proof of the depth of his patriotism by the way in which he spurned the suggestion of Rev. Duché to become a traitor; it mattered not that Gates was but a weak and inefficient tool, who had reaped the benefit of the work of other and better men whom he had superseded; it mattered not that Conway was but a selfish adventurer who, in the course of a few brief months, would be forced to leave the army against his own free will; it mattered not that Lee had, doubtless, even then, within his heart the embryo seeds of that treason which was, later, to prove his ruin, nothing was considered save the success of the moment.

A part of the scheme of Conway looked towards the separation of Lafayette from Washington, and when Lafayette loyally spurned the suggestion we are led to believe that this, and this only, brought the conspiracy to an end. This is true but in part. Others were working to the same purpose, and it is probable that their effective plans had even more to do with the desired result. Amongst these was the Masonic Fraternity, of which the Commander-in-chief was a member.

Dr. Sachse, ex-president of this Society, who is an eminent authority on the subject, has shown that the historic Lodge No. 8, of Montgomery County, holding its meetings in Norristown, of which city we are to-day the guests, then in existence, and the mother lodge of the present Charity, No. 190, was the one, because of its proximity to Valley Forge, which dispensed Masonic light during the dark days of the encampment, and that, in all probability, "it was the brethren of Lodge No. 8 who played so important a part in sustaining Brother George Washington against the plotters and conspirators of the no-

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UNITED STATES MEMORIAL.

COURTESY OF VALLEY FORGE COMMISSION.

torious Conway Cabal. By a comparison of the list of members with the official records, it will be seen that many, if not a majority of the brethren of Lodge 8, were in active service in some capacity at Valley Forge."

It goes without saying that many members of this Lodge were Pennsylvania Germans, but it may be of especial interest to mention that Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, likewise a Freemason, was, at times, a visitor to it, and that, of the number, was my grand-uncle, John Richards, appointed Justice of the Peace, June 6, 1777, for Philadelphia County, which position he held practically all his life; Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Montgomery County, upon its organization, November 1, 1784; member of the Fourth Congress, 1796-97; Pennsylvania State Senator, 1801-07; member of the Pennsylvania Convention on the Federal Constitution of 1787, and, during the Revolution, one of the magistrates before whom citizens were required to take the oath of allegiance to the American cause.

To specify, or to attempt to specify, the soldiers of Pennsylvania-German origin who were of the number that suffered and died at Valley Forge, is an impossibility with the incomplete lists now in existence. Even were the lists all that could be desired it would still be an impossibility, as there would be nothing to guide him who searched them save the general character of the name, and we know how little reliance can be placed upon this feature and how unjust it would be to ourselves to be obliged to leave out many whose names had become so anglicized as to make them unrecognizable.

With much labor I have gone over such records as are obtainable, and have considered the character of each name, and have especially noted, where possible, the lo-

cality from whence the companies and battalions came. I have thus arrived at an approximate percentage of Pennsylvania Germans in each regiment, and will specify the regiments which participated in the encampment at Valley Forge with my estimate of Pennsylvania-German membership in them, begging the reader, at the same time, to remember that it is an estimate which is more than likely not to do justice to those of whom we write.

The regiments in which we are more or less interested, with their percentages of Pennsylvania Germans, are:

	Per Cent.
1st Pennsylvania—1st brigade, Wayne's division.....	30
2d Pennsylvania—1st brigade, Wayne's division.....	18
3d Pennsylvania—Conway's brigade	10
4th Pennsylvania—2d brigade, Wayne's division	10
5th Pennsylvania—2d brigade, Wayne's division	15
6th Pennsylvania—Conway's brigade	20
7th Pennsylvania—1st brigade, Wayne's division	6
8th Pennsylvania—2d brigade, Wayne's division	10
9th Pennsylvania—Conway's brigade	15
10th Pennsylvania—1st brigade, Wayne's division	25
11th Pennsylvania—2d brigade, Wayne's division	10
12th Pennsylvania—Conway's brigade	15
13th Pennsylvania—Sullivan's division	30
Col. Tho's Hartley's Reg't.—1st brigade, Wayne's division..	small
German Regiment—De Barre's brigade, Sullivan's division..	100
Proctor's Penn'a Artillery.....	15
8th Virginia—Muhlenberg's brigade, Greene's division.....	100
with many scattered in other Virginia regiments.	

The position at Valley Forge was well chosen. The Schuylkill River, flowing from the Blue Hills, bends here towards the eastward, with rapid current and precipitous banks. The Valley Creek, cutting its way through a deep defile at right angles to the river, forms a natural bound-

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ary on the west. The hill called Mount Joy, at the entrance of this defile, throws out a spur which, running parallel to the river for about one mile, then turns northward and meets its banks. On the one side this ridge incloses a rolling table-land; on the other it slopes sharply to the great valley. The engineers, under Duportail, marked out a line of entrenchments four feet high, with a ditch six feet wide, from the entrance of the Valley Creek defile along the crest of this ridge until it joined the bank of the Schuylkill, where a redoubt marked the eastern angle of the encampment.

On the extreme left of the army, and just to the right of this redoubt, was stationed Muhlenberg's brigade of Virginians, making their post the one most advanced towards the enemy, with Weedon's Virginians adjoining to the right.

Wayne's Pennsylvania regiments lay on the right flank along this ridge, with but Scott's brigade of Virginians between them and its extremity.

High on the shoulder of Mount Joy a second line girdled the mountain and then ran northward to the river, broken only by the hollow through which the Gulf road descended to the Forge. This hollow place was later defended by an abattis and a triangular earthwork.

Behind the center of this abattis was stationed Conway's brigade comprising the remaining infantry regiments of the Pennsylvania Line, between the brigades of Maxwell (New Jersey) and Huntington (Connecticut).

A redoubt on the east side of Mount Joy commanded the Valley road, in front of which, and between the two lines of entrenchments, lay the Pennsylvania artillery to the rear of Wayne's troops.

Another redoubt, behind the left flank of the abattis,

commanded the road which came from the rear and was supported by the brigades of Huntington, immediately in front of it, with those of Conway and Maxwell in front and to its right. A star redoubt on a hill at the bank of the river acted as a *tête-de-pont* for the bridge that was thrown across the Schuylkill at this point. Along the road, and in front of it, were encamped Varnum's Rhode-Islanders.

Washington's headquarters were in the rear of his command, where the Valley Creek empties into the river, and right here it is well to remember that his body-guard was composed entirely of Pennsylvania Germans, mainly from Berks and Lancaster counties, a proof of the absolute confidence which he had in their loyalty and steadfastness, and selected by him during the encampment at a time when traitors were trying to ruin him and our cause.

Impossible as it has been to specify the Pennsylvania Germans at Valley Forge who served in the ranks, yet the historian is able to mention some of those who occupied higher positions, that is the commissioned officers. Even this task is of a most unsatisfactory character for reasons already given.

Imperfect, however, as may be our efforts it is but just that the names should be given of such as are known.

While it is true that his life, after the war, was passed in our sister state, New York, yet his noble and valuable service to his adopted country was largely performed in our midst when he transformed the motley mob of untrained soldiers at Valley Forge into a drilled and disciplined army, whose arms and accoutrements were kept in proper condition, and whose bearing and movements at Monmouth, the first engagement fought after leaving their winter encampment, won the admiration of the *élite* of the

British troops, and brought about their utter discomfiture. I have often wondered whether that grand old veteran, Baron von Steuben, through whose veins flowed the same blood as that of our ancestors, would not, if he were able, even now rise up and call upon us to count his name amongst those of our Pennsylvania-German patriot fathers.

Probably the most prominent Pennsylvania-German officer at Valley Forge was General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg. Hardly had he settled down as the pastor at Woodstock, in the Shenandoah Valley, when "his frank and manly bearing made friends not only within the congregation but without also. An intimacy arose with Patrick Henry and Colonel George Washington. With the former he laid deep plans of sedition, with the latter he shot bucks in the Blue Ridge Mountains. He was made chairman of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence in Dunmore County, within which Woodstock was located. In the State's Convention of 1774 at Williamsburg, and in the next session at Richmond, in March, 1775, he supported Patrick Henry eloquently and gave assurance of the support of his large constituency in the Valley. Patrick Henry renewed his motion of arming the province of Virginia, and Muhlenberg seconded him. In accordance with the wishes of Washington and Patrick Henry, Muhlenberg was put in command of the Eighth Virginia Regiment (Faust). This affectionate intimacy between Washington and Muhlenberg never came to an end.

With his regiment he first served in the south, and proved his worth at the battle of Sullivan's Island. Promoted to brigadier-general, February 21, 1777, he was ordered north and attached to the army of the commander-

in-chief. He, with Weedon, saved the day at Brandywine; he distinguished himself in a brilliant bayonet charge at Germantown, dividing the right wing of the enemy; fought at Monmouth; commanded the reserve at the storming of Stony Point; when Leslie invaded Virginia in 1780 he was opposed to him with the chief command; acted under Baron Steuben against Benedict Arnold; led the American storming party which carried the British redoubts, by assault, at Yorktown. He was promoted to major-general on September 30, 1783, and returned to civil life after the army had been disbanded, when he further served his country in various prominent capacities.

Associated with Muhlenberg's operations was Weedon's brigade of Virginians. It is not generally known that this distinguished officer was also German, his correct name being Gerhard von der Wieden. He was born in Hanover; served in the war of the Austrian Succession, 1742-1748; distinguished himself in the battle of Dettingen; served with Colonel Henry Bouquet in Flanders, and as a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania German Royal American Regiment in its operations during the French and Indian War. When the war was over he settled at Fredericksburg, Virginia, amongst the Pennsylvania Germans, and, at the outbreak of the Revolution, became lieutenant-colonel of the Third Virginia militia, then colonel of the First Virginia Continental, and, finally, in 1777 brigadier-general, taking a leading part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He left the service for a time, then, in 1780, reëntered it under Muhlenberg and commanded the Virginia militia before Gloucester Point at the siege of Yorktown (Rosengarten).

Abraham Bowman and Peter Helfenstein, Pennsylvania Germans, were, respectively, lieutenant-colonel and major

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BRO. GENERAL PETER MUHLENBERG.

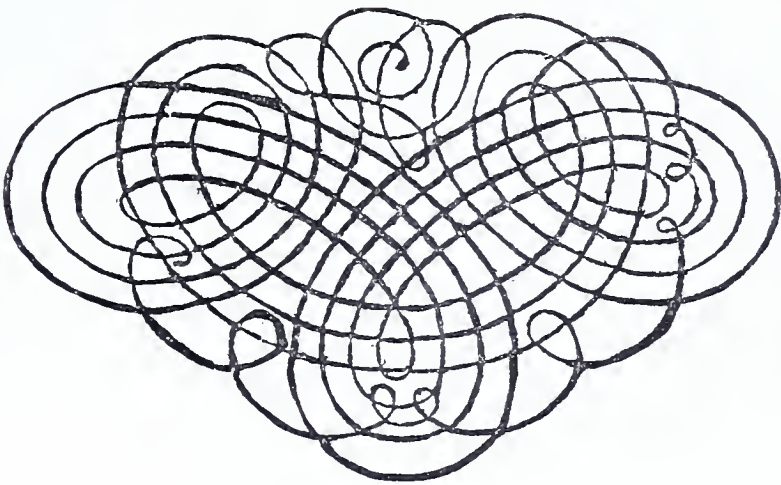
B. TRAPPE, PENNA., OCTOBER 1, 1746.

D. PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER 1, 1807.

in Muhlenberg's Eighth Virginia, the former having served with him on the county Committee of Safety. The writer regrets that he has not had access to the names of the various officers in that regiment, all of whom were Pennsylvania Germans.

Captain John Markland, born and buried in Philadelphia, his parents having removed to New York, began his service as a member of Colonel Lasher's regiment of New York volunteers and was warmly engaged at Long Island, Trenton and Princeton. In 1777 he entered the Continental service in Captain Jacob Bower's company of the Sixth regiment, as ensign; captured at the battle of Short Hills, N. J., but escaped immediately after; fought at Brandywine and Germantown, where he was wounded; rejoined the army at Valley Forge, in April, 1778, though not yet fit for service; served faithfully until the close of the war, and then retired with the brevet rank of captain; in 1823 elected a County Commissioner of Philadelphia.

Reference has already been made to the valuable services rendered in the camp hospital at Valley Forge by Dr. Bodo Otto, Senior Surgeon, and his son, Dr. John A. Otto, both of Reading, Pa.



PARTIAL LIST OF PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN COMMISSIONED OFFICERS IN PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENTS
WHO SAW SERVICE DURING THE ENCAMPMENT AT VALLEY FORGE.



THIS list does not include such officers as were wounded in the preceding battles, or taken prisoners, and so not with the troops at the encampment.

First Pennsylvania.

Captain: David Ziegler, born in Heidelberg, Germany, in 1748; served in the Russian campaign against the Turks under the Empress Catharine; settled in Lancaster, Pa.; commissioned, June 25, 1775, adjutant of Colonel Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen; wounded August 27, 1776; first lieutenant, January 16, 1777, of 1st Pennsylvania; promoted captain, December 8, 1778; resigned, and went to Cincinnati, Ohio, becoming its first mayor, where he died, September 24, 1811.

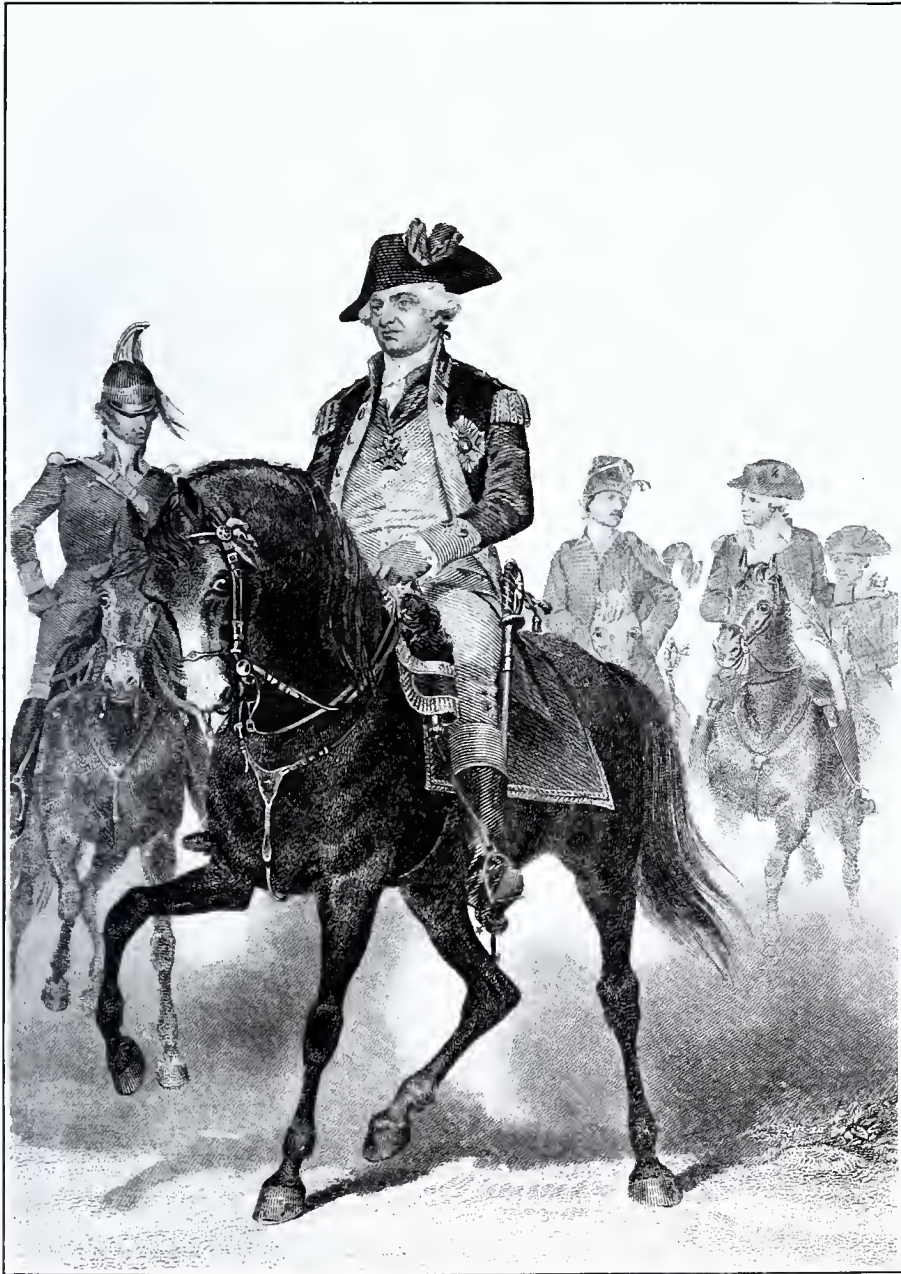
First Lieutenant: Frederick Hubley, from second lieutenant and quartermaster; died, Harrisburg, Pa., December 23, 1822.

Surgeon's Mate: John Hilsdorph.

Second Pennsylvania.

General: John Philip de Haas, served in the French and Indian War as ensign, December, 1757; adjutant, Colonel Armstrong's battalion, April 30, 1758;

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MAJOR GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

B. MAGDEBURG, NOV. 15, 1730.

D. STEUBENVILLE, N. Y., NOV. 28, 1794.

captain, Col. Burd's battalion, April 28, 1760; major, June 9, 1764; with Bouquet in the expedition of 1763; June, 1764, in command at Fort Henry, Berks County; resident of Lebanon, Pa., 1765 to 1775; colonel, 1st Pennsylvania battalion, January 22, 1775; in northern campaign of 1777; colonel, 2d Pennsylvania, October 25, 1776; brigadier-general, February 21, 1777; resigned in 1778 and removed to Philadelphia in 1779.

Colonel: Henry Bicker, major, 3d Pennsylvania battalion, January 4, 1776; 10th Pennsylvania Line, October 25, 1776; lieutenant-colonel, 6th Pennsylvania, December 5, 1776; colonel, 2d Pennsylvania, June 6, 1777; supernumerary, July 1, 1778.

Captains: Jacob Ashmead, September 6, 1776; resigned, May 16, 1780.

Christian Staddel, from first lieutenant of 1st battalion.

Peter Gosner, from first lieutenant, January 1, 1778; retired January 1, 1781.

Captain Lieutenant: John Stoy, from first lieutenant, May 16, 1780; retired January 1, 1781.

First Lieutenants: Henry Waggoner, from second lieutenant, March 11, 1779; resigned, May 3, 1779.

Jacob Morris De Hart, from ensign, May 16, 1780; died of wounds, July 25, 1780.

John Stricker, from second lieutenant, May 1, 1779; from ensign, October 1, 1777.

Second Lieutenant: Abel Morris, of Berks County, from lieutenant of Flying Camp, 1777; became supernumerary.

Ensign: Peter Dietrick, February 5, 1777; killed in action, May 18, 1780, at Paramus.

Third Pennsylvania.

Lieutenant Colonel: Rudolph Bunner, from major, August 1, 1777; from captain, January 6, 1776; killed at Monmouth, June 28, 1778.

First Lieutenants: George Hoffner, January 1, 1777.

Andrew Engle, from second lieutenant, December 20, 1778; ensign, October 16, 1776; to second lieutenant in 12th Pennsylvania and transferred to 3d Pennsylvania; retired, January 1, 1781.

Ensign: James Engle, September 20, 1776.

Fourth Pennsylvania.

Captain: Henry Bicker, Jr., second lieutenant, January 8, 1776, in 3d battalion; captured, November 11, 1776; promoted to captain, 4th Pennsylvania Line, May 15, 1778, after his exchange.

Fifth Pennsylvania.

Lieutenant Colonel: Francis Mentges, on March 22, 1776, adjutant of Atlee's Musketry Battalion; promoted first lieutenant, August 9, 1776; major (old) 11th Pennsylvania, October 7, 1776; lieutenant colonel, 5th Pennsylvania, October 9, 1778; retired, January 1, 1783; later appointed the first inspector-general of the United States army.

Captain: William Van Lear, from captain lieutenant of 9th Pennsylvania, October 10, 1779; from second lieutenant, January 29, 1779; brigade major, 1st Pennsylvania brigade; transferred to 5th Pennsylvania, January 17, 1781.

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WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE.

PHOTO BY JULIUS F. SACHSE, A. D. 1886.

Sixth Pennsylvania.

Captains: Jacob Bower, entered the service, June, 1775, as sergeant of Captain Geo. Nagel's company from Reading (First Defenders), in Colonel Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen; promoted quartermaster; first lieutenant, January 18, 1776, in Capt. Benjamin Weiser's company of the German Regiment; captain 6th Pennsylvania, February 15, 1777; transferred to 2d Pennsylvania, January 1, 1783.

Jacob Moser, February 15, 1777.

John Nice, June 15, 1776, transferred from 13th Pennsylvania, July 1, 1778; captain, March 15, 1776, in Atlee's Musketry Battalion; captured, August 27, 1776; exchanged, December 9, 1776, for Captain Gordon.

Ensigns: Herman Leitheiser, of Reading, February, 1777.

Philip Snyder, August 21, 1777; supernumerary, June 21, 1778.

Eighth Pennsylvania.

Captains: Eliezer Miers.

Michael Huffnagle, September 7, 1776; from adjutant.

Tenth Pennsylvania.

Colonel: George Nagel, served during the French and Indian War as an ensign, stationed for a time at Fort Augusta. At the outbreak of the Revolution he raised a company at Reading, Pa., which was attached to the celebrated Colonel Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen, and, of all the volunteers, was the first to reach Washington at Cambridge,

Mass., thus becoming the "First Defenders." His commission was dated June 25, 1775. Promoted to major of 5th battalion, January 5, 1776; to lieutenant colonel of 9th Pennsylvania, October 25, 1776, to rank from August 21, 1776; to colonel of 10th Pennsylvania, February 7, 1778, becoming supernumerary July 1, 1778.

Lieutenant Colonel: Adam Hubley, Jr., from major, March 12, 1777, ranking from October 4, 1776; lieutenant colonel commandant of the new 11th Pennsylvania, June 5, 1779, to rank from February 13, 1779; from 1st battalion, December 6, 1776; retired, January 1, 1781.

Captains: William Wirtz, December 4, 1776; resigned, March, 1778.

Harman Stout, from first lieutenant, February 12, 1777; from 3d battalion, June 13, 1776; ensign, January 8, 1776; resigned, March 1, 1780.

David Schrack, from first lieutenant, October 17, 1777; first lieutenant, December 4, 1776; supernumerary, July 1, 1778; from New Providence (Montgomery County).

Jacob Stake, from first lieutenant, November 12, 1777; from third lieutenant, Miles' Rifle Regiment, December 4, 1776.

William Feltman, also paymaster, from ensign, November 7, 1777; transferred to 1st Pennsylvania, January 17, 1781; ensign, December 4, 1776.

Michael Everly, from ensign, April 1, 1780; from sergeant, October, 1779.

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MAJOR GENERAL BARON VON STEUBEN.

ERECTED 1916.

COURTESY OF VALLEY FORGE COMMISSION.

Valley Forge and the Pennsylvania-Germans. 27

(Old) Eleventh Pennsylvania.

Captain: Adolph William Hedrick, November 13, 1776.

First Lieutenant: Jacob Fiss, from ensign; supernumerary, July 1, 1778.

Second Lieutenant: Henry Boogh, September 30, 1776.

Twelfth Pennsylvania.

Captain: Nicholas Miller, October 4, 1776; supernumerary, July 1, 1778.

Colonel Hartley's Additional Regiment.

Lieutenant: Martin Eichelberger, September 19, 1777.

Von Heer's Dragoons.

Captain: Bartholomew von Heer, of Reading, Pa., from captain in Proctor's Artillery, January 1, 1778; captain of artillery, March 3, 1777.

First Lieutenant: Jacob Mytinger.

Second Lieutenant: Philip Strubing.

Proctor's Artillery.

Lieutenant Colonel: John Martin Strobagh, May 13, 1776; appointed, June 28, 1776, third lieutenant from lieutenant of Marines on board the *Hornet*; to captain, October 5, 1776; to lieutenant colonel, March 3, 1777; died in service, December 2, 1778.

Adjutant: George Hoffner, April 14, 1777, from sergeant-major of Miles' Rifle Regiment.

The German Regiment.

Colonel: Nicholas Haussegger, lieutenant in Captain Atlee's company, May 6, 1760, of the French and

Indian War, and probably served in the previous campaign under General Forbes. On November 11, 1763, he was commissioned captain in the 1st battalion, Pennsylvania regiment, having distinguished himself in the battle of Bushy Run, under Bouquet. During the summer of 1764 he was stationed on the frontiers in Heidelberg township of Lebanon County. His residence became Lebanon, Pa. In the Revolutionary War he was made major of the 4th Pennsylvania battalion, January 4, 1776, and shared in its fortunes and privations during the Canadian campaign. Commissioned colonel of the German regiment to rank from July 17, 1776; retired from the army, doubtless because of advanced years, in 1778, and died on his farm near Lebanon in July, 1786.

Lieutenant Colonel: Ludwig Weltner, June 17, 1776; from major, April 9, 1777.

Major: Daniel Burchardt, July 8, 1776; from captain, April 7, 1777.

Captains: George Hubley, July 8, 1776.

Jacob Bunner, July 8, 1776; retired, January 1, 1781.

John D. Woelpper, July 17, 1776; transferred to Invalid Corps, June 11, 1778.

Peter Boyer, July 12, 1776; from first lieutenant, May 9, 1777; retired, January 1, 1781.

Frederick William Rice, July 12, 1776; from first lieutenant, January 4, 1778; retired, January 1, 1781.

Bernard Hubley, August 15, 1776; from first lieutenant, February 24, 1778; retired, 1781; brigade inspector of Northumberland County, etc. He

published his first volume of the History of the Revolution in 1807, and died 1808.

Captain Lieutenant: Philip Shrawder, May 13, 1777; from first lieutenant, February 8, 1778; retired, January 1, 1781.

First Lieutenants: Frederick Rowlwagen, July 12, 1776. Jacob Bower, July 12, 1776.

John Weidman, July 12, 1776; from ensign, May 14, 1777; adjutant of the regiment in 1779; previously served in one of the Associated Battalions; retired, January 1, 1781.

Jacob Cremer, July 12, 1776; from second lieutenant, January 8, 1778; from ensign, May 15, 1777; retired, January 1, 1781.

Christopher Godfried Swartz, July 12, 1776; from second lieutenant, February 12, 1778; from ensign; retired, January 1, 1781.

Second Lieutenants: George Hawbecker, July 12, 1776.

John Landenberger, July 12, 1776.

George Schaffer, July 12, 1776.

Frederick Yeiser, July 12, 1776.

Ensign: Christian Helm.

Paymaster: Eberhard Michael, 1776-7; died in Lancaster, Pa., July 16, 1778.

Here comes to an end our list, merely from the lack of recorded data of which the writer of this has knowledge, and to which he has had access. Would it were otherwise, and that we might be able to do honor, at this day, to the scores of other heroes of our blood whose names, unfortunately, now rest forgotten and unsung.

We need not blush to be known as Pennsylvania Germans. Had it not been for them, and their blood shed under the folds of the British flag, this great country of

ours would have been a colony of France and not of Great Britain. Had it not been for them there would never have been a Declaration of Independence, and without their sacrifice of blood at Long Island and of material for Valley Forge, the Revolution would to-day be written in history as a mere rebellion of a comparatively few brief months' duration. They suffered all the miseries of their comrades at Valley Forge, but, beyond that, they were pre-eminently the martyrs of the horrible British prisons of 1776. Many a sick and dying soldier has blessed them when they ministered to him in their hospitals. Wherever and whenever their country has needed them, whether in peaceful acts or in righteous warfare, there they have been. They are not only Americans but Americans of Americans, not newcomers but the founders and preservers of the nation from its birth. Ever faithful, ever loyal, ever patient, may the time speedily come when, at last, they will take the place in history which they have earned and to which they are entitled, and, to that end, may our Heavenly Father, in whom we ever trust, give us, their descendants, courage to work.

APPENDIX.

We would fail in our effort to render justice to the subject, which has just been treated, were we to omit the names of the following prominent Pennsylvania-Germans, suggested by Dr. John W. Jordan, who, while not personally present at Valley Forge during the Encampment, were so actively identified with all the issues pertaining to it as to have had more or less influence in making it a success and preventing it from becoming a failure.

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Joseph Fuster

Captain Joseph Hiester, of Reading, Berks County, was of the very first to respond to the call of the patriotic Convention, of which he was a member, which met, June 18, 1776, in Carpenter Hall, Philadelphia, and adjourned June 25, 1776, after, in addition to other action, recommending the formation of a "Flying Camp" of volunteer "Associators," to consist of 4,500 men.

His battalion was speedily organized, took part in the battle of Long Island, on August 27, 1776, where he was captured and lingered in imprisonment in New York City until December 8th, when he was exchanged for Captain Strong of the 26th British Regiment.

Undeterred by the recollection of his sufferings during this time, and hardly recovered in health because of them, when the British advanced up the Chesapeake Bay to capture Philadelphia he made every effort to speedily place in the field the Fourth Battalion, Berks County Militia, of which he had been commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel, and with it, as commander, succeeded in joining Washington in time to take part in the battle of Germantown, where he was wounded in the head but remained with his men until the Continental Army went into camp at Valley Forge when his battalion was mustered out.

His later distinguished career in Congress, and as Governor of Pennsylvania from 1820 to 1823, is a matter of well-known history.

Dr. Bodo Otto, in addition to his labors in the camp hospital at Valley Forge, was on duty, in April, 1778, at the hospital in Bethlehem, and, after the removal of its sick and wounded which began on Palm Sunday, April 12, 1778, was ordered to the hospital at Yellow Springs where he was on duty in June of that year.

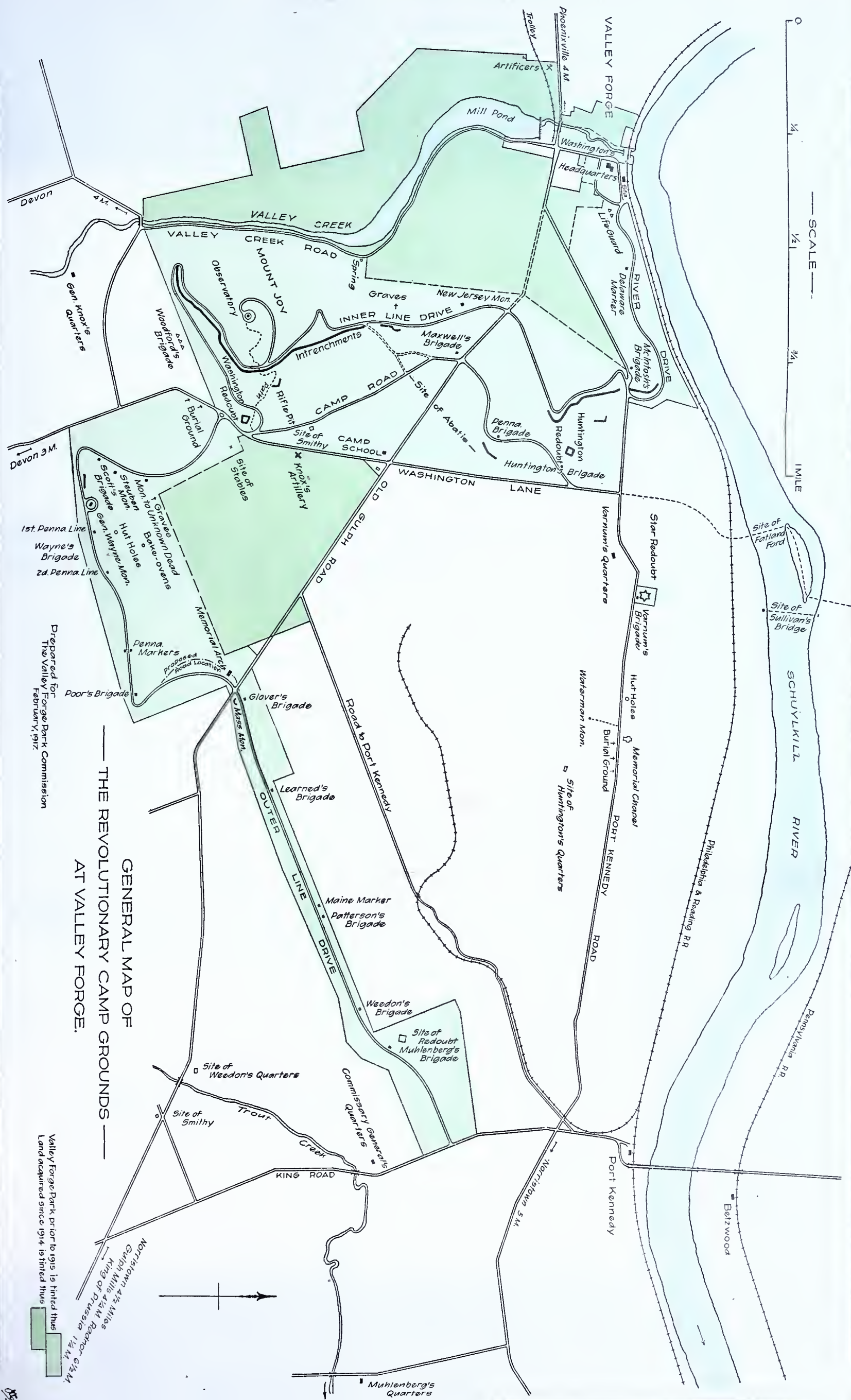
As a German printer, entitled to equal praise in the art with Benjamin Franklin, and to mention in connection with Michael Hillegas, was Henry Miller, of Philadelphia, who printed *in full* the Declaration of Independence in his *Staatsbote*, first of all the Philadelphia newspapers; whose presses the British carried off when they evacuated the city; who, when Congress sat at York, translated their proclamations from English into German for distribution in the German districts of the State.

A friend of all the three mentioned was Lewis Weiss, of Philadelphia, lawyer, scrivener and patriot. The Assembly used to employ him to draft their Acts in legal form.

H. M. M. RICHARDS.

November 2, 1916.





SCALE ———
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GENERAL MAP OF
THE REVOLUTIONARY CAMP GROUNDS
AT VALLEY FORGE.

Valley Forge Park prior to 1915 is tinted thus
Land acquired since 1914 is tinted thus

Norristown 4 1/2 Miles
King Mills 4 1/2 M. Redoubt 6 1/2 M.
King of Prussia 1 1/2 M.

